

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-03 INR-07 L-02 ACDA-05

NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06 TRSE-00 SAJ-01

CU-02 DODE-00 NSC-05 SS-15 /073 W

----- 103539

P R 111759Z APR 75

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1153

INFO USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 2009

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, CSCE

SUBJECT: CSCE AND WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION

REF: USNATO 1914

1. AS PROJECTED REFTTEL, NATO/IS HAS PREPARED SECOND REVISION OF DRAFT CSCE/PR PAPER IN PREPARATION FOR FURTHER SPC DISCUSSION WEEK OF APRIL 14-18. IS PAPER, TEXT OF WHICH IS SET FORTH BELOW, IS PREFACED BY SPC CHAIRMAN KASTL'S NOTE THAT PAPER REFLECTS SUGGESTIONS MADE BY U.S. AND OTHERS AT APRIL 7 SPC MEETING. CONCERNING ADDITION TO PAPER OF AN ANNEX COVERING SPECIFIC WESTERN CSCE ACHIEVEMENTS, KASTL POINTS OUT MATERIAL FOR PREPARATION OF SUCH AN ANNEX IS NOT NOW AVAILABLE TO NATO/IS. KASTL ASKS SPC MEMBERS, THEREFORE, TO CONSIDER MAKING SPECIFIC PROPOSALS FOR THE CONTENT OF THE ANNEX. MISSION HAS ALREADY MADE ILLUSTRATIVE SUGGESTIONS BASED ON PARA 3-G OF GENEVA 1898 BUT WOULD APPRECIATE ADDITIONAL INPUTS FROM DEPARTMENT FOR USE IN NEXT SPC MEETING.

2. CURRENT IS INTENTION IS TO CONSIDER MAIN BODY OF CSCE/PR PAPER AS BEING ESSENTIALLY IN FINAL FORM AFTER ONE OR PERHAPS TWO MORE SPC DISCUSSIONS. GENERAL GUIDANCE WOULD BE REVIEWED, HOWEVER, AND ANNEX ON SPECIFIC CSCE ACHIEVEMENTS WOULD BE PUT CONFIDENTIAL

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IN FINAL SHAPE DURING SPC DISCUSSIONS IN MAY, OR SUBSEQUENTLY AS NECESSARY, AS FINAL RESULTS ON SPECIFIC CSCE ISSUES BECOME CLEAR.

3. MISSION AGREES WITH ABOVE IS APPROACH, BUT WOULD APPRECIATE BY MIDDLE OF NEXT WEEK DEPARTMENT GUIDANCE ON THIS POINT, AND ON ANY CHANGES IT WISHES MISSION TO SUGGEST IN TEXT TRANSMITTED BELOW AS WELL AS ADDITIONAL INPUT FOR "SPECIFIC ISSUES ANNEX." BEGIN TEXT.

PUBLIC INFORMATION ASPECTS OF A POSSIBLE CSCE AGREEMENT

1. WHILE IT WOULD BE INACCURATE TO ARGUE THAT THE CSCE HAS OF ITSELF RADICALLY CHANGED THE EUROPEAN SITUATION, BY SIGNING THE FINAL DOCUMENTS THE ALLIED COUNTRIES WILL CONFIRM THAT THEY CONSIDER THE OUTCOME OF THE CONFERENCE TO BE A SATISFACTORY FURTHER STEP IN THE PROCESS OF DETENTE, AND THE POSSIBLE BEINNING OF ANOTHER PERIOD IN EAST/WEST RELATIONS. THE THIRD STAGE OF THE MEETING WILL ALSO REPRESENT A COLLECTIVE EXPRESSION OF HOPE THAT THE PERIOD WHICH LIES AHEAD WILL BRING THE REAL RELAXATION OF TENSIONS WHICH HAS ELUDED US FOR 30 YEARS.

2. THE ALLIES SHOULD BE PREPARED FOR SOVIET PRESENTATION OF THE HELSINKI MEETING AS A TOTAL TURNING POINT IN EAST/WEST RELATIONS - ESPECIALLY IF THE MEETING IS HELD AT THE LEVEL OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT. ALREADY MR. BREZHNEV HAS EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE THAT THE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE WILL REPRESENT A "HUGE ACHIEVEMENT" AND PROVIDE A "POLITICAL FOUNDATION" FOR FUTURE TASKS. (IT IS SUGGESTED THAT, AT THEIR NEXT MEETING, THE EXPERT WORKING GROUP ON THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE MIGHT USEFULLY UNDERTAKE FURTHER CONSIDERATION OF THE SOVIET ATTITUDE AND LIKELY FUTURE CONDUCT WITH REGARD TO THE CONCLUSION OF THE CSCE AND ITS AFTERMATH.)

3. WHILE THE SOVIETS WILL STRESS DIFFERENT FEATURES OF THE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE, THE ALLIES CAN QUITE JUSTIFIABLY STRESS THE SUBSTANTIAL RESULTS THEY HAVE ACHIEVED IN IMPORTANT HUMANITARIAN AND OTHER AREAS DISCUSSED DURING THE CONFERENCE.

4. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE CONFERENCE WILL IN NO WAY DIMINISH THE NEED FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF AN ADEQUATE MILITARY DEFENCE FOR, AS THE ATLANTIC DECLARATION CLEARLY POINTS OUT, THERE IS AN CONFIDENTIAL

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UNMISTAKABLY CLEAR RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ALLIANCE SECURITY AND THE PURSUIT OF DETENTE. IN THIS CONTEXT IT MAY BE NCESSARY TO COUNTER SOVIET ATTEMPTS AT ABUSIVE USE OF THE CONCLUSION OF THE CONFERENCE AND ITS RESULTS TO WEAKEN THE POLITICAL DETERMINATION OF THE WEST TO MAINTAIN AN ADEQUATE DEFENCE.

5. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, THE MANNER IN WHICH THE OUTCOME OF THE CSCE IS PRESENTED BY GOVERNMENTS AND BY THE MEDIA IN THE COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE WILL BE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE. SINCE SITUATIONS WILL VARY WIDELY FROM COUNTRY TO COUNTRY, NO ATTEMPT SHOULD BE MADE TO AGREE ON A SINGLE LINE OF PUBLIC PRESENTATION. IT WILL, HOWEVER, BE DESIRABLE TO AVOID DISCORD IN THE PRESENTATION OF BASIC ISSUES, AND THERE IS THEREFORE ADVANTAGE IN HAVING AN

AGREED BODY OF MATERIAL AND ARGUMENTS TO BE DRAWN ON AT WILL  
ACCORDING TO CIRCUMSTANCES. THE BROAD OBJECTIVES SHOULD BE TO  
ESTABLISH CLEARER UNDERSTANDING OF THE NATURE OF DETENTE AND OF THE  
NEED TO CONTINUE TO CARRY FORWARD THE PROCESS OF DEVELOPING EAST/  
WEST RELATIONS; TO BRING HOME THE IMPORTANCE OF SEEING THAT THE  
RESULTS OF THE CSCE ARE IMPLEMENTED; AND TO STRESS THE NEED TO  
EXTEND DETENTE BEYOND THE POLITICAL FIELD INTO OTHER AREAS.

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NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06 TRSE-00 SAJ-01

CU-02 DODE-00 NSC-05 SS-15 /073 W

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P R 111759Z APR 75

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 2009

GENERAL GUIDANCE

6. THE FOLLOWING IS PUT FORWARD AS GENERAL GUIDANCE:

(I) BY PATIENT AND CO-ORDINATED EFFORTS BOTH BEFORE AND DURING  
THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS, THE ALLIES WERE ABLE TO ACHIEVE  
SIGNIFICANT RESULTS IN CSCE. FOR EXAMPLE:

- HUMAN AND CULTURAL CO-OPERATION HAVE BEEN REGISTERED  
FOR THE FIRST TIME AS PROPER SUBJECTS FOR EAST/WEST  
MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATION, AND THERE HAS BEEN DISCUSSION  
OF THESE SUBJECTS. THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE CONFERENCE  
IN THIS FIELD ARE OF SPECIAL IMPORTANCE, THOUGH THE  
PARTICULAR SIGNIFICANCE OF SPECIFIC ISSUES VARIES  
FROM ONE COUNTRY TO ANOTHER ACCORDING TO CIRCUMSTANCES;

- MULTILATERAL EAST/WEST UNDERSTANDINGS HAVE BEEN REACHED  
IN THE AREAS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, SELF-DETERMINATION OF  
PEOPLES, FAMILY REUNIFICATION, GREATER ACCESS TO  
INFORMATION AND IMPROVED WORKING CONDITIONS FOR  
JOURNALISTS AND SCHOLARS;

- IT HAS ALSO BEEN AGREED THAT EUROPEAN FRONTIERS  
CAN BE CHANGED BY PEACEFUL MEANS THAT ARE MUTUALLY  
SATISFACTORY TO THE PARTIES INVOLVED;

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- UNDERSTANDINGS HAVE ALSO BEEN REACHED FOR THE FIRST TIME ON A EUROPE-WIDE BASIS WHICH SHOULD CONTRIBUTE TO GREATER CONFIDENCE IN THE MILITARY SECURITY OF THE EUROPEAN AREA;

- THE EAST, BY ITS ACCEPTANCE OF NORTH AMERICAN PARTICIPATION IN CSCE, HAS THEREBY ALSO FORMALLY ACCEPTED A CONTINUING NORTH AMERICAN ROLE IN EUROPEAN SECURITY;

- USEFUL PROVISIONS HAVE ALSO BEEN FORMULATED WHICH WOULD FACILITATE EAST/WEST TRADE CONTACTS BY, FOR EXAMPLE, PERMITTING IMPROVED ACCESS TO BUSINESS INFORMATION AND BY STRENGTHENING THE ARBITRATION PROVISIONS OF CONTRACTS.

(II) AT THE SAME TIME, THE RESULTS OF THE CSCE MUST BE SEEN IN THEIR CORRECT PROPORTIONS IN THE WIDER CONTEXT OF EAST/WEST RELATIONS GENERALLY AND OF OTHER CONTINUING EAST/WEST NEGOTIATIONS. THE ALLIED COUNTRIES DO NOT LOOK FOR SUDDEN CHANGE. THE PROCESS OF DETENTE INVOLVES MUCH MORE THAN THE CSCE ALONE. THE POLITICAL ASPECTS OF DETENTE ARE IMPORTANT. BUT EQUALLY IMPORTANT ARE THE MILITARY ASPECTS, AND THE COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE HAVE TO ENSURE THAT THESE ALSO ARE RECOGNISED AND TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT BY THE OTHER SIDE;

(III) THE CSCE IS AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN DETENTE AND A MAJOR STEP IN EAST/WEST MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY. BUT IN NO SENSE IS IT A CAPSTONE OR TURNING POINT, AND CERTAINLY DOES NOT CREATE A SECURITY SYSTEM FOR EUROPE. THE RATE OF FUTURE PROGRESS OF EAST/WEST RELATIONS IN AREAS COVERED BY THE CSCE WILL DEPEND UPON THE MANNER IN WHICH PRACTICAL EFFECT IS GIVEN TO THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE, PARTICULARLY IN REGARD TO THOSE ISSUES OF SPECIAL IMPORTANCE TO THE COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE;

(IV) THE ALLIED COUNTRIES DO NOT ACCEPT THAT A PURPOSE OF THE CSCE IS TO FIX FINALLY THE TERRITORIAL STATUS QUO IN EUROPE. THE OVERALL EFFECT OF THE CSCE MUST BE DYNAMIC, NOT STATIC. THE ALLIED COUNTRIES WISH TO  
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BUILD TOWARDS INCREASED EAST/WEST CO-OPERATION, AND ONE CRITERION BY WHICH THE CSCE MUST BE JUDGED IS HOW FAR IT ADVANCES SUCH CO-OPERATION AND HELPS TO OVERCOME DIVISIONS IN EUROPE: (HERE, OR ELSEWHERE, IN THE PAPER A PASSAGE IS TO BE ADDED ON THE SUBJECT OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE");

(V) THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE CSCE DO NOT SEEK TO MAKE ANY CHANGE IN INTERNATIONAL LAW AND DO NOT HAVE THE FORCE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. NONETHELESS THEY HAVE GREAT POLITICAL AND MORAL VALUE. THEY APPLY REGARDLESS OF A COUNTRY'S MEMBERSHIP OF ONE OR ANOTHER IDEOLOGICAL GROUPING. NO ONE SECTION OF THE CONCLUSIONS HAS A SPECIAL STATUS DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF THE OTHERS, OR IS OF GREATER WEIGHT. ALL SHOULD BE TREATED EQUALLY;

(VI) IT WOULD BE UNREALISTIC TO LOSE SIGHT OF THE GREAT DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED IN THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS IN SEVERAL AREAS, AND OF THE FACT THAT THE RESULTING TEXTS ARE BY NO MEANS ENTIRELY SATISFACTORY OR UNAMBIGUOUS. THIS FURTHER UNDERLINES THE IMPORTANCE OF IMPLEMENTATION AS THE ONLY TRUE CRITERION FOR A FINAL JUDGEMENT. IT WOULD BE ENTIRELY MISTAKEN TO REGARD THE WORK OF THE ALLIANCE IN THIS AREA AS AT AN END. IT IS TO BE HOPED THAT CONSTRUCTIVE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE WILL OPEN NEW AREAS FOR EAST/WEST NEGOTIATION, AND THE ALLIANCE WILL CONTINUE TO HAVE A VITAL ROLE TO PLAY IN PROMOTING THIS PROCESS.

#### PRACTICAL STEPS

7. THE MANNER AND TIMING OF THE DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION WILL REQUIRE ATTENTION. SOME PREPARATORY STATEMENTS COULD BE DESIRABLE BEFORE THE CONCLUSION OF THE SECOND PHASE OR IMMEDIATELY AT OR AFTER ITS CONCLUSION, AND ADVANCE CONSULTATION ON THESE WOULD BE DESIRABLE. STATEMENTS MADE BY HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT AT THE CONCLUDING PHASE ITSELF WILL BE OF KEY IMPORTANCE. THERE IS LIKELY ALSO TO BE A NEED FOR CAREFUL FOLLOW-UP STATEMENTS. MINISTERIAL AND OTHER OFFICIAL STATEMENTS WILL CERTAINLY BE ANALYSED AND COMMENTED BY THE MEDIA AND IT WILL BE IMPORTANT TO TRY TO GIVE APPROPRIATE GUIDANCE TO THIS COMMENT.

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FOOTNOTE: THE POSSIBILITY OF ADDING AN ANNEX OF MORE DETAILED GUIDANCE ON SPECIFIC CSCE ITEMS IS STILL ENVISAGED.

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## Message Attributes

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**Capture Date:** 18 AUG 1999  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** n/a  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 11 APR 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** CunninFX  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
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**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** 11652 GDS  
**Errors:** n/a  
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**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
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**Page Count:** 5  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** USNATO 1914  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** CunninFX  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 30 APR 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <30 APR 2003 by CunninFX>; APPROVED <23 SEP 2003 by CunninFX>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
05 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** CSCE AND WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION  
**TAGS:** PFOR, NATO, CSCE  
**To:** STATE INFO GENEVA  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006